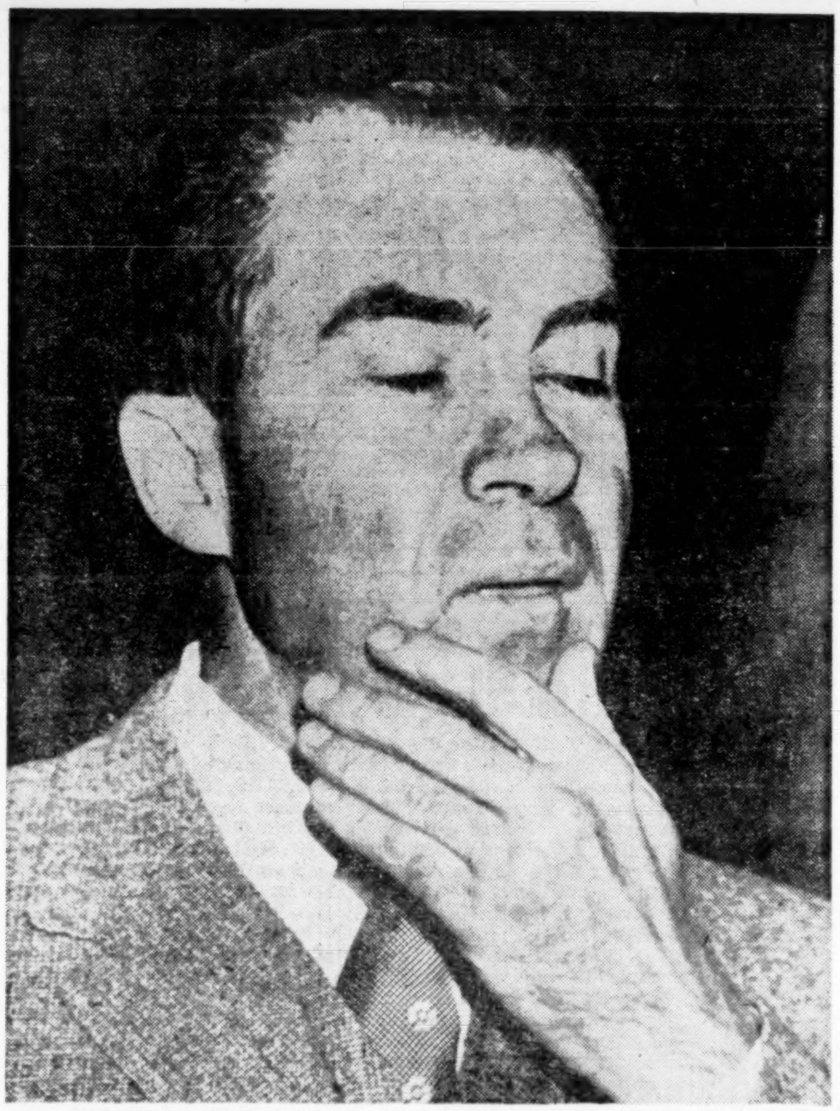

THE HEIR-APPARENT—or, ONE FOOT IN THE WHITE HOUSE
As the nation watches with genuine concern the health of the President, Vice President Nixon has become busier than ever. Newspaper and radio commentators seek desperately to find evidence of "growing stature" and "maturity" in Nixon, but their words ring hollow. For Americans with even short memory recall only too well that Nixon rose to power on the back of Alger Hiss with a leg up from Whittaker Chambers.

For Your Holiday Shopping See P. 6-7

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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the progressive newsweekly

VOL. 10, NO. 8 **NEW YORK, DECEMBER 9, 1957**

THE DISUNITED AFL-CIO

Labor federation, torn by dissension, faces legal curbs

By Lawrence Emery

TWO YEARS AFTER the merger of the AFL and CIO, the federation seemed less united than ever and faced an expected flood of anti-labor legislation when Congress reconvenes in January. The first convention of the AFL-CIO since the merger, which opened in Atlantic City on Dec. 5, was largely concerned with dismembering itself. Four unions were recommended for expulsion: the teamsters, largest and most powerful affiliate; the bakers; the distillery workers and the laundry workers. In addition, there were rumblings and rumors that the building trades department, comprising 19 unions, might eventually secede because of unsolved jurisdictional problems.

There was further disunity at lower levels: the AFL and CIO had failed to merge in 16 states, most of them key industrial centers, by the Dec. 5 deadline set by the unity convention two years ago.

Internal dissension in the combined labor movement, and the desire of some of its leaders to prove their respectability by cooperating with Congressional moves to "curb abuses," made it almost certain that drastic new anti-union laws will be enacted. AFL-CIO president George Meany has said that "we will support the enactment of whatever legislation is necessary to protect the funds of our membership and to correct abuses that adversely affect the public interest."

ILWU VIEW: The independent West

(Continued on Page 9)

THE LEGAL ASSAULT IN THE SOUTH

The NAACP fights for the right to exist

By Louis E. Burnham

TWO COMMITTEES of the Virginia House of Delegates last month reported their conclusions on the root of all evil in racial and legal matters in the Old Dominion State. The administration of justice would be strengthened, they contended, and harmony restored between Negro and white, by a simple expedient: curb the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Smash the NAACP! Disbar its lawyers; compel registration of its membership; prohibit solicitation of funds. As soon as the ink had dried on the Supreme Court's instructions of May 31, 1955, ordering "all deliberate speed" in public school desegregation, these became the war cries of Dixiecrat politicians all over the South.

If there's no NAACP, they reasoned, there'll be no court cases, no mass movements of Negroes demanding constitutional rights.

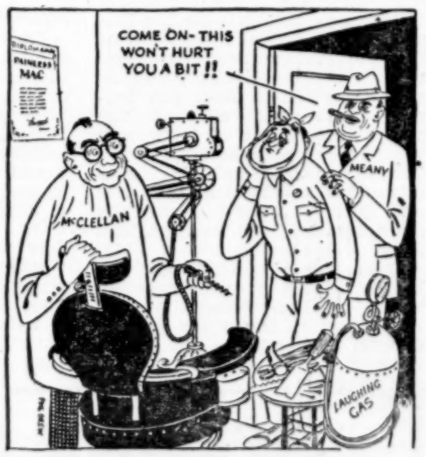
This tactic was vigorously pursued. As a result, the NAACP is now banned in Alabama, reduced to two branches (New Orleans and Lake Charles) in Louisiana, severely restricted in Texas, and under continuous legal assault in the rest of the South.

NOT MUCH PROFIT: State anti-NAACP laws, judicial injunctions and administrative curbs are supplemented by a raft of local ordinances. For example, a Wilcox County, Ala., law requires organizations soliciting members to pay a $200 license fee, a $50 fee for each solicitor, and $5 for each member signed up. It is easy to see how the "overhead" would eat up the "profit" in Wilcox Co. for the NAACP, the bulk of whose members sign up at the $2-a-year minimum fee.

Added to this concerted "legal" assault are intimidation and violence—the tons of scurrilous anti-Negro literature, bombings, cross burnings and lynchings—by the White Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan and their derivatives. Thus the nation's foremost civil rights organization is now engaged in a desperate fight, not only for Negro rights, but for the right to exist.

As NAACP winds up its 48th year, chief counsel Thurgood Marshall recently

(Continued on Page 4)



Drew in the ILWU Dispatcher, San Francisco
Time to wake up

In this issue

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THE SUPREME COURT AIRING OF THE PASSPORT SCANDAL

Will Dulles lose his job as U.S. gate-tender?

FOR FIVE YEARS Secy. of State Dulles has been a self-appointed policeman and gate-keeper of America, deciding who may or may not be let out for travel abroad. For those he permits past the gate, he also decrees where they may or may not go. Those to whom the gate is shut are literally prisoners of the Secretary. Now, for the first time, the Supreme Court has agreed to check on whether gate-tending is part of the Secretary's job, or whether the gate should even be there at all.

The test cases are those of Rockwell Kent, artist, and Dr. Walter Briehl, psychiatrist. When the Supreme Court on Nov. 25 agreed to review them, Leonard B. Boudin, attorney for both men and general counsel of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, said:

"The Supreme Court's grant of certiorari today in these cases will permit us to test the validity of the Secretary's passport regulations which have remained in effect for five years despite many adverse court decisions. The case of Rockwell Kent is an ECLC test case which presents squarely the issue of whether political associations are relevant to the right to travel. Dr. Briehl's case presents the same issue. . . . I hope that by June this nightmare of travel control will have been dissolved."

FIVE OPINIONS: Dulles' denial of passports to Kent and Dr. Briehl was upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit last June 28, but the court was so badly splintered over the issue that the government itself did not oppose a Supreme Court review. Of the eight-judge court, five voted to uphold, two dissented and one proposed that the case be sent back to the lower court. All told, five separate opinions were written.

The two dissenters were Chief Judge Henry W. Edgerton and Judge David L. Bazelon. (These two were also the only dissenters in the now-famous Watkins case, and were upheld by the Supreme

(Continued on Page 9)

THE MAIL BAG

Mrs. FDR for president

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

After seeing her on TV and reading her realistic "competitive co-existence" comments on her return from the Soviet Union, the question arises: Why not Eleanor Roosevelt for President in 1960?

Though into her 70's, she has health, wisdom and perhaps greater international prestige than any living American. Sure, it would have to be a grass-roots movement within the Democratic Party. However, such a campaign could spark the smothered aspirations of vast numbers of Americans for a New Deal, 1960 fashion.

L. Buchanan

Communist Party reply

NEW YORK, N.Y.

With regard to your editorial of Nov. 11, we regret we did not seek an exchange of views on the elections in timelier fashion. The fault is ours.

Nevertheless we are convinced, more firmly than ever, in part because of these lapses, that it is imperative to discuss such questions together in the hope of arriving at a common point of view. It is difficult to see how the left and socialist forces can influence events without the most consistent and painstaking efforts to achieve a greater measure of unity.

We know that this concern for unity is shared by the National Guardian, its editors and supporters. The questions or criticisms posed in your editorial are not new. We have had occasion in the past to debate our differences on the outlook for a political realignment in our country. The questions have a new urgency today.

Where we differ is on the important and complex question of how the Left can best contribute to such a process. Can there be an answer which does not initially take into account the present movement of labor and the Negro people and their political relationships? Can any movement led by the Left live and grow divorced from the main social forces in American life?

Does not the Left need to search out a policy therefore which—while avoiding the error of tailing in the wake of the general movement — will enable it to influence that movement by active participation in it, together with independent forms of expression?

Our critical support for the Liberal Party in the mayoralty elections was based on this premise; that it would help advance the movement in labor's ranks for independent political action. It was likewise our view that no party, whatever its stated program, can promote the welfare of the people or stimulate interest in socialism apart from and in antagonism to labor and the popular forces in our city.

We stand for the broadest coalition of all forces, regardless of party affiliation, that will advance the people's struggle on the immediate issues.

These are some of the issues which call for thoughtful examination. May we suggest a series of public discussions and exchange of articles to clarify our views? We believe we all have much to learn and more than a little to contribute to each other in this process.

Benjamin J. Davis, Chairman
George B. Charney, Secretary
N. Y. State Committee
Communist Party

The GUARDIAN has received other letters critical of our editorial position on the elections and on independent political action. All the letters were unsigned. It is the GUARDIAN's policy not to print unsigned letters. We will of course withhold names on request.—Ed.

> ### *How Crazy Can You Get Dept.*
>
> A gift for the lady who has everything but the kitchen sink! Our wonderful 14K sink charm with diamond drops of water, $225. 14K bracelet $176.
>
> —Linz of Dallas ad in **New Yorker** magazine
>
> One year's free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Eve Merriam, New York City.

For a third party

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Except for a small handful of Socialist Workers Party people the Left was hopelessly divided during the past election. I believe the GUARDIAN was right in calling for a third party even without labor leadership. This would have permitted a courageous, positive vote, instead of a shamed vote for the lesser evil.

It was disappointing to find Communist leaders urging support for "lesser evil" Wagner. This is the same man who is attempting to force "loyalty oath" evictions, unlawful as they are, from the housing projects. He fights in court to maintain the "inform or be fired" system for public school teachers, after State Commissioner Allen condemns it as degrading and improper. He refuses to appoint the universally-respected Justice Delany. He resists the reinstatement of Prof. Slochower, after the Supreme Court affirmed his rights.

In supporting this "lesser evil" candidate because he has labor support, the CP is not moving closer to the masses; it is isolating itself further. By retaining a principled position it can gain support when the time is right; otherwise it loses its reason for existence.

The GUARDIAN failed to explain, however, that while an SWP vote, as an independent one, was more palatable than a Wagner one, that it was not a third party vote. The SWP never supported the Progressive Party or the ALP.

The times call for a third party which will fight for co-existence, a program which can command majority support. The SWP seems to feel that co-existence is impossible under capitalism, that socialism is the order of the day. I wish it were so, but it isn't. More Americans will support co-existence than will support socialism. Since without co-existence there is no existence, I prefer to work for this third party. It is my impression that victories in these areas will best carry us along the road to socialism.

Aaron Katz

Wall Street Journal
"Like our dentist to look at your teeth?"

The weak spot

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

I like your paper and I want to give you all the encouragement and support that I can. However, I think that your paper is a little weak in failing to stress sufficiently what the worker masses should and must do to solve their growing problems. A good socialist paper should, of course, keep the workers as fully informed as possible on our social ills and on what is going on in this and other countries, but in addition to that it must also tell them what they must do about it.

In closing, I want to thank the entire GUARDIAN staff for the fine support you gave our Socialist Workers Party candidates in the recent elections..

C. R. Hedlund

A view of the bridge

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Yangtze River Bridge may be a great engineering feat, but the photo in the GUARDIAN indicates that it cannot be rated as one of the world's longest bridges.

All the "longest bridges" are of the suspension type, the "length" being that of the single long span. The Yangtze Bridge has many piers, no single long span. There are causeway bridges, with hundreds of piers, that extend for miles.

F. L. Harte

Inspired

EVERETT, WASH.

That sweet breath of freedom which you hold high keeps us inspired, knowing a better day will come. Your thoughtful analysis, factual reporting and good humor are a real feast.

John Cockroft

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO ALL READERS

BEGINNING WITH JANUARY, the subscription price of NATIONAL GUARDIAN will be $5 a year, single copy 15c. The increase is compelled by rising production costs under which we can no longer maintain our $3 a year price. Our $1 introductory sub will continue for new readers on a 13-week basis. All regular subscribers have received or will soon receive a letter explaining the circumstances and offering renewals now at the present rate through the month of December. Please let us have your response soon. Single copy purchasers may obtain a copy of our letter to subscribers, which contains a holiday gift offer, by writing or calling the GUARDIAN.

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Vol. 10, No. 8 401 December 9, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

A million Americans

IN THE WAKE of the Supreme Court's bitterly disappointing refusal last month to accept for review the case of Morton Sobell, representatives of the men and women throughout the country working for justice for the young scientist met in New York last weekend and resolved to undertake within the next year to enlist a million Americans in behalf of Presidential intercession.

They will seek signatories and support for appeals concurring with one now before President Eisenhower, initiated by commentator Elmer Davis, scientist Harold Urey and others, and signed by hundreds of writers, professors, lawyers, doctors, clergymen, and eminent citizens from every part of the country. The appeals asks Presidential intervention for a new trial, an executive pardon or commutation of sentence.

Morton Sobell is serving 30 years in prison for alleged conspiracy to commit espionage. The one witness against him was an admitted perjurer with a five-year sentence hanging over his head if he refused to accommodate the prosecution. Sobell was tried with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and, in the hysteria created by the charges against them, was convicted along with them—although in no way connected with the alleged Rosenberg conspiracy. He is serving the eighth year of his sentence and, since Thanksgiving, 1952, has been in Alcatraz Prison in San Francisco Bay.

THE GOOD PEOPLE who, led by Sobell's wife and mother, have carried on the fight for him since the execution of the Rosenbergs in 1953, have cut out a prodigious job for themselves. Yet the course they have chosen is the only way. As with the Rosenberg Case, no court but that which convicted Sobell has ever judged the case. The recent Supreme Court denial of Sobell's motions and petitions was its third since 1952 and, although other approaches remain available in the courts, the likelihood of an American court now reopening the Rosenberg - Sobell trial for critical review is seemingly as remote as it was in 1952. The case is the Achilles Heel of the U.S. Dept. of Justice and only a major public demand can force an expose of prosecution chicanery in the courts or, at least, rescue the innocent victim while he is still young enough to resume a normal life.

> **AMERICANS FIND THEIR SCAPEGOAT AT LAST**
>
> **Soviet missile progress all the Rosenbergs' fault**
>
> Manchester Guardian, Nov. 22, 1957

Sobell's supporters of course seek relief for him as quickly as possible; yet they know that the Dreyfus case and those of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings required 20 or more years of struggle to rescue the victims. Sobell himself, from Alcatraz, in a letter to his wife Helen, is perhaps more patient than his friends on the outside. Writing of their blasted life together, he says:

"'Real' success cannot always be and seldom is measured in terms of immediate attainments; and the inability to reach that for which we strive does not always connote failure. Most successes could not have been attained without the failures that preceded."

SUCCESS IN THE SECURING OF JUSTICE for Morton Sobell will require money and manpower and a high priority among the many fights for justice in our country today. The kind of priority, for example, that the Smith Act defenses have enjoyed nationwide since 1949. To win the concurrence of a million Americans will require organization where none, or only sporadic effort, now prevails in Sobell's behalf. This is the case in many of the biggest U.S. cities and, of course, in many whole states. Yet an innocent Sobell remaining in prison while government officialdom moves to parole the psychopathic liars used to create the spy hysteria around him and the Rosenbergs should have connotations for every thinking citizen, and especially to those who have fought the witch-hunt, spy-hunt from its inception.

NO GUARDIAN READER to our knowledge has ever believed the folklore of Russian spies stealing the A-bomb. Yet Sobell is in jail, barred a review of his conviction, on nothing more than an allegation, unsupported by any evidence whatsoever, of some kind of connection with this folklore of another period.

We respectfully urge every GUARDIAN reader to join in the effort now undertaken to win wide public support for Morton Sobell's deliverance. We shall do all in our power to see that an effective job is done in every community served by our paper.

—THE GUARDIAN

IN THE ERA OF SPUTNIK

Neutrals forcing reappraisal of the disarmament issue

By Kumar Goshal

DISARMAMENT debate at the current UN Assembly session has revealed the urgent need for a reappraisal of the whole issue.

The debate began with the U.S. pushing hard for approval of the same package proposal which deadlocked last summer's London conference. The Assembly adopted the U.S. resolution, co-sponsored by 23 other nations, 57 to 9, with 15 abstentions.

By a vote of 51 to 9, with 21 abstentions, it rejected a Soviet proposal to replace the 12-nation (11 Security Council members plus Canada) Disarmament Commission with a permanent commission consisting of all 82 UN members, in which "Russia would no longer stand alone against the West" (N.Y. **Times**, 11/17). The Soviet Union said it would no longer participate in the 12-nation commission.

ENLARGED GROUP: To prevent a total collapse, India, Canada, Japan, Paraguay, Sweden and Yugoslavia proposed a compromise: add 14 new members to the 12-nation commission. It would then consist of U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France, Chiang Kai-shek, Colombia, Iraq, Panama, Argentina, Japan, Australia, Canada, Belgium, Brazil, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Burma, Egypt, India, Mexico, Tunisia, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland. This was accepted, 60 to 9, with 11 abstentions. The Assembly rejected, 38 to 19, with 19 abstentions, an Albanian amendment to increase the membership to 32 by adding Finland, Indonesia, Ceylon, Austria, Sudan, Bulgaria, Rumania.

Soviet delegate Kuznetsov said the new 25-nation commission was "completely unacceptable." Disarmament negotiations, he said, might continue between heads of governments and through regular diplomatic channels.

Grant in Oakland Tribune

The ultimate deterrent?

MOSCOW'S VIEW: Moscow had increasingly felt that the now defunct disarmament subcommittee (U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France and Canada) was unrealistic, "since the four Western powers, which are members of NATO, have stood together consistently against Soviet proposals" (**Times**, 11/13). It also considered the omission of China — the world's most populous state—as insane.

Moscow declared the 25-member commission unacceptable because, while it afforded greater regional representation, the balance was still heavily in favor of the pro-U.S. bloc. The Albanian proposal, it felt, would have given the balance to the neutrals.

Many neutral nations feel the U.S. has no intention of reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union. They observed that, while the Soviet Union had made such important concessions (President Eisenhower's aerial inspection plan and Western terms for armed forces reduction) "the disarmament proposals of the U.S. and its allies have not been fundamentally altered since the Baruch plan was submitted in 1946" (**Times**, 11/17).

NEUTRAL POSITION: These neutrals also noted, as the Washington **Post** pointed out (11/5), that the recent Eisenhower-Macmillan program to pool NATO resources was based on the assumption that "no agreement can be negotiated with the Kremlin," and that Secy. Dulles "never has been an enthusiast for negotiating with the Soviet Union." The neutrals, therefore, have consistently advocated separating the issue of nuclear weapons tests from the rest of the proposals.

The Indian resolution to suspend nuclear tests was defeated at the UN by the minority vote of 34 to 24, with 20 abstentions. It was noted that the population of the countries voting against the resolution totaled about 638 million, only slightly larger than the population of China alone, which is unrepresented at the UN.

The voting record on disarmament and nuclear tests at this UN session has indicated that, despite Western pressure, more and more members were uneasy over the West's unyielding position. Although many felt unable openly to oppose the Western position, the number of abstentions indicated a widespread feeling that a reappraisal by the West was urgent.

FROZEN POSITION: Western proposals were formulated 11 years ago, when the West had a monopoly of atomic weapons and felt it was "leading from a position of strength." Soviet achievements in missiles and satellites have made the West's frozen position completely untenable. Since the U.S. and its allies now insist on another "position of strength" buildup before undertaking genuine negotiations, the neutral nations are more than ever anxious to get a ban on nuclear tests until common sense prevails. India was expected to take up the issue when the enlarged Disarmament Commission meets in January.

PROTESTS INCREASE: Meanwhile, demand for the ban was increasing throughout the world. Great demonstrations have been held in Japan. The physics section of the Royal Netherlands Academy on Nov. 15 petitioned the government to "use every means" to stop test explosions. In Britain, Nuffield Research Fellow Dr. Alex Comfort was soliciting scientists' signatures to the appeal launched by Dr. Linus Pauling and endorsed by over 2,000 U.S. scientists.

In the California Bay area on Nov. 16, the Democratic Party Council, meeting to draft policy recommendations for the State Council, defeated by one vote a resolution calling for immediate and unconditional cessation of tests; but it did adopt one favoring "vigorous leadership effort by our government to attain worldwide cessation of atomic weapons testing." The Council also voted overwhelmingly in favor of UN recognition of China.

THIS IS THE KIND OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WE ENDORSE
A delegation of Soviet metallurgists, touring the National Housing Center in Washington, get a full review of the newest in building materials and equipment.

DISTRICT COURT JUDGE ACTS

Lee Lorch is freed of contempt charge after 3 years of government hounding

DR. LEE LORCH, mathematics professor at Philander Smith College in Little Rock, Ark., and a persistent battler against jimcrow, was acquitted of contempt of Congress charges on Nov. 27. The charges stemmed from a hearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1954.

Lorch, then the head of the Mathematics Dept. at Fisk University, had tried to enroll his daughter in a predominantly Negro school in accordance with the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling. The Lorches are white. The Committee promptly called him as a witness in Dayton, Ohio, and questioned him about political affiliations in 1941. Dr. Lorch did not claim the protection of the Fifth Amendment but instead told the committee it was engaged in a "smear and diversion, a fishing expedition devoid of legislative purpose," that it was asking questions that had no bearing on the ostensible purpose of the hearing.

NOT EVEN INFORMED: He was indicted in February, 1955. The government dropped the case in April, 1956, two days before the trial date, but in July of that year Lorch was indicted again on the same charge. He was tried last April before Federal Judge Lester L. Cecil in Dayton, who called for additional briefs by both sides. Judge Hubert T. Delany of New York represented Lorch.

In his decision dismissing the charge Judge Cecil said the record did not show that Lorch "was even informed of the topic under inquiry with clarity," that though the Committee was presumably investigating Communist activities in the Dayton-Yellow Springs area, "Mr. Lorch was never in Dayton or Yellow Springs, that he had been a teacher at the University of Cincinnati back in 1941."

MRS. LORCH'S HEARING: Dr. Lorch's fight against discrimination in New York's Stuyvesant Town housing project in 1949 cost him teaching jobs at City College in New York and later at Penn State College. After he attempted to enroll his daughter at a Negro school the Board of Trustees at Fisk decided not to renew his contract. Though Fisk is a predominantly Negro school, there is only one Negro on the 12-member executive committee of the Board of Trustees.

The Senate Internal Security subcommittee, headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.), has threatened to bring contempt charges against Mrs. Grace Lorch. She was summoned to testify in a Memphis hearing after she protected a Negro girl in Little Rock who had tried to enter Central High school and was turned back by the National Guard last September.

Let's have a little more maturity

RESPONDING to the appeal made by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in August, a group of leading U.S. clergymen and educators last week called on Washington to "declare a moratorium on all testing of weapons of mass destruction." The signers found it "profoundly disturbing that the virtually automatic reaction to the launching of a satellite by the Russians . . . seems to be that the arms race has now been stepped up. [This was] not a mature or a creative reaction." The statement is being transmitted to the Triennial Assembly of the Natl. Council of Churches meeting in St. Louis, and to President Eisenhower and Secy. of State Dulles.

Among the signers were Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, minister emeritus of the Riverside Church; Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. of Montgomery; Lewis Mumford, author and city planner; Clarence Pickett, American Friends Service Committee; Dr. Charles T. Leber, exec. secy., Ecumenical Mission, U.S. Presbyterian Church; Dean Walter G. Muelder, Boston Univ. School of Theology; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, minister emeritus, Community Church; A. J. Muste, secy. emeritus, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

UE CONTRACT DEMAND

No-discrimination clause is fought by Westinghouse

A DETERMINED UNION campaign to restrict the Westinghouse Electric Corp.'s "contractual freedom to practice discrimination" was brought to light with publication Nov. 25 of a letter addressed to the company by James J. Matles, director of organization of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

For several years UE has demanded a no-discrimination clause in its contracts with Westinghouse. After recent negotiations were dragged out for 60 days because of disagreement on this single issue, the UE Conference Board voted to enlist public support for its demand.

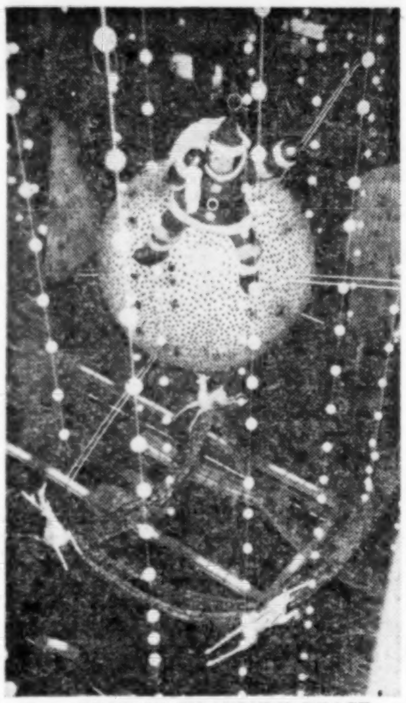
PRO AND CON: The Matles letter outlines the company vs. union debate on the anti-jimcrow clause as follows:

- WESTINGHOUSE: It would harm the company's competitive position. UE: In 1950 the union signed a contract containing the identical provision with Westinghouse's main competitor, General Electric. GE's sales volume has risen from $1 billion to $4 billion annually in the past seven years.
- WESTINGHOUSE: It would subject the company to a "flood of grievances" claiming discrimination against Negro workers. UE: This amounts to an acknowlegement that the clause is necessary.
- WESTINGHOUSE: Integration of Negro workers must be a "slow process of education lest it cause difficulties among the workers." UE: "Our problems have arisen from too slow progress, not too rapid progress in eliminating discrimination." The union anticipates "very few . . . problems among its members in enforcing the clause."
- WESTINGHOUSE: Though the company signs government contracts with no discrimination clauses, the government supervises them with "reasonableness and understanding," and the union would not do so. UE: "The union will, of course, enforce such a contract provision, just as it enforces all contract provisions."
- WESTINGHOUSE: None of the other unions with which the company has contracts has made any such demand. UE: The company should offer the same clause to all other unions with which it has agreements.

CALL FOR ACTION: Toward the end of negotiations, Westinghouse put forward the clincher. A clause in the contract, they said, would amount to mere "words." What was needed was action.

The UE then decided to take action outside the conference room. It publicized the dispute and appealed to those who agree with its position to urge the company to sign the no-discrimination agreement. The union asked that communications be sent to Gwilym A. Price, President, Westinghouse Electric Corp., 3 Gateway Center, Pittsburgh 30, Pa.

Westinghouse employs 125,000 workers in plants throughout the country. Its sales on a variety of electrical appliances, from light bulbs to huge generators, amounted to $1,477,273,000 during the first nine months of 1957. Net profit after taxes was $49,102,000 for the period. Other unions representing Westinghouse workers are: Intl. Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Intl. Assn. of Machinists and the Westinghouse Salaried Employees Assn. The first three are AFL-CIO affiliates; UE is an independent Union.



. . . BEEP IN HEAVENLY PEACE

Santa rides a red-nosed sputnik in the lavish Christmas display of the Matsuya department store on the Ginza in Tokyo. This year's holiday season echoes to "God rest ye, airy gentlemen . . . A merry orbit to all and to all a good flight."

No question

REPRESENTATIVE Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania is chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, vice-president of a Philadelphia bank, and co-sponsor of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

Lest anyone have any doubt about it, the latest episode in his career should remove any question regarding his Americanism.

His wife filed a suit last week charging nonsupport.

—Coos Bay (Ore.) **World**, Oct. 23

Progressive Israel parley Dec. 13-15

AMERICANS for Progressive Israel will hold a three-day national conference in New York—Dec. 13-15—"devoted to the issues of the day facing Israel and the American Jew." For seven years this organization has been "translating the vital ideals and achievements of the Hashomer Hatzair movement in Israel for the American scene," publicizing the Israel which rarely appears in "official" communiques; considers its struggle "as part of a greater world-wide fight against exploitation and for socialism," and sees "peace with the Arab states as the touchstone of its existence and future."

Topics of the three-day conference are: "Israel: Crossroads of East and West"; "The Creative Role of the Kibbutz"; "The Survival of American Jewry," and "Jewish Tasks for Progressives." **The Dec. 13 session at 8 p.m. will be held at the Willkie Memorial, 20 W. 40th St.; all other sessions at the Edison Hotel,** 228 W. 48th St., where the conference will end with a Chanuka dinner on Dec. 15.

Speakers on Dec. 13 will be: Don Leon of Israel; Richard Yaffe, UN correspondent of **Al Hamishmar**; Kumar Goshal of NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Speakers at other sessions will include author Scott Buchanan, Avner Waisel of Kibbutz Tel Amal, Mikhail Frishberg of Kibbutz Ein Dor, journalist B. Z. Goldberg, author Charles Angoff, David Flakser, Nathan Ausubel, Flora Greenbaum (returning from Israel) and Aaron Einhorn.

Dinner reservations at $7.50 per person will include attendance at all sessions. A $2 registration fee per person will admit delegates to all conference sessions except the dinner. For reservations write to Americans for Progressive Israel, 112 Fourth Ave., New York 3, or phone GR 3-4747.

The NAACP story

(Continued from Page 1)

pointed out, not one of the seven members of the national legal staff is working on a desegregation case; all are tied up in litigation defending the organization against attacks. The necessities of self-defense cannot help but slow down the offensive against jimcrow.

THE ALABAMA CASE: The first case to reach final court action is likely to be the Alabama ban. In July, 1956, a circuit court judge in Montgomery fined the NAACP $100,000 and held it in contempt because it refused to turn over its membership lists to the state. The appeal from this decision is now before the U.S. Supreme Court. The NAACP has made it plain that it opposes publication of membership lists—not because it has anything to hide, but because it feels it has the duty to protect its members against economic and physical reprisals. The final decision will have far-reaching implications, not only for the future of NAACP in the South but for all groups concerned with the right of free association.

Loss of membership and revenue has been the second major effect of the Dixiecrat attack on NAACP. In Alabama, Louisiana and Texas alone, the toll has been some 198 branches and 36,000 members. In other Southern states, such as Mississippi, South Carolina and Georgia, the loss has been less pronounced, but still substantial.

Henry Lee Moon, NAACP public relations director, told the GUARDIAN last week that "our people are not running wholesale" in the South. Indeed they are not: they are holding on to NAACP as to sword, shield and buckler wherever possible; they are building other civil rights organizations, largely under leadership of the church, where NAACP has been outlawed; in some areas they are functioning as a virtual underground for freedom. The descendants of slaves who built a "railroad" of escape to the North under the noses of their masters, are not likely to be stymied in 1957 by Governors Faubus, Timmerman and Griffin.

Nevertheless, a loss of Southern membership presents a severe organizational problem—as well as a political and legal one—to an organization which at the beginning of 1957 counted more than half of its 350,000 members in the South.

These members are organized into 1,100 branches in 43 states, the District of Columbia and Alaska. During 1957 the NAACP set a goal of 400,000 members and $1,000,000 in its "Fight for Freedom" fund. Northern branches were encouraged to "adopt" branches knocked out by Southern attacks by over-subscribing their usual quotas for membership and funds in amounts equal to the normal quotas of the adopted branches.

FREEDOM DINNER: While the full results of the adopt-a-branch campaign will not be known until secretary Roy Wilkins makes his annual report to the board of directors in January, reports would seem to indicate that support for the organization has mounted as the attacks have intensified. A NAACP Freedom Fund dinner at New York's Hotel Roosevelt on Nov. 22 attracted 1,300 guests at $100 a couple. The diners poured into the hotel from all parts of the country. They contributed nearly $70,000 and added 400 persons to the life membership list.

Stockett in Afro-American, Baltimore
One species we'll be glad to see die out.

The 1957 $500-life-membership campaign will show a decided increase over the 1,221 reported for 1956. The vast majority of life memberships come from Negro business and professional leaders and organizations. The Links, a national organization of Negro women social leaders, has subscribed to life memberships for each of its 50 chapters. Some life memberships and donations have come from labor unions, but this remains a small part of the NAACP annual budget. The bulk of its resources derive from the Negro community.

BY JANUARY, 1963: NAACP policy is determined by its annual conventions and a 53-member board of directors. An able executive staff directs the activities of its national office, Washington bureau and three regional headquarters in Atlanta, Dallas and San Francisco. Scores of branches throughout the country maintain local offices. They are serviced by some 20 field secretaries.

In 1958 this apparatus will be thrown into a stepped-up campaign against segregation in all its forms.

New York Mirror
For whom the bell tolls

- The NAACP expects to remove "all legal encumbrances" to first-class citizenship by Jan. 1, 1963, the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.
- It will fight for more civil rights legislation in the 2nd session of the 85th Congress which convenes in January.
- It will give priority to a campaign to bring Southern Negro voter registration up to almost 3,000,000 by 1960.
- It will fight to live and to kill jimcrow in jobs, housing, schools, transportation, health facilities and places of public accommodation.

In this battle it deserves—and needs—support of all who believe that 100 years is too long for the nation to deny the simplest elements of equal citizenship to 17,000,000 Negroes. The national office of NAACP is at 20 W. 40 St., N.Y. 18, N.Y.

Oh, sputnik!

MOSCOW . . . is unique today . . . the day-to-day routine of most citizens is inexpressibly dreary.

No local citizen has ever read a gossip column or played canasta. No one has ever seen a supermarket, a drive-in movie, a motel or a golf course. Nobody has ever shopped by mail or paid a bill by check. No one has ever seen an electric toaster, a sidewalk cafe, a shoeshine stand or a funeral home. I never saw a girl with dark glasses or encountered a Russian with a cigarette lighter. Once I showed a waitress my pocket flashlight; she could not believe her eyes.

—Inside Moscow, condensed from the forthcoming book **Inside Russia Today** by John Gunther, in the Reader's Digest, December, 1957 (page 165).

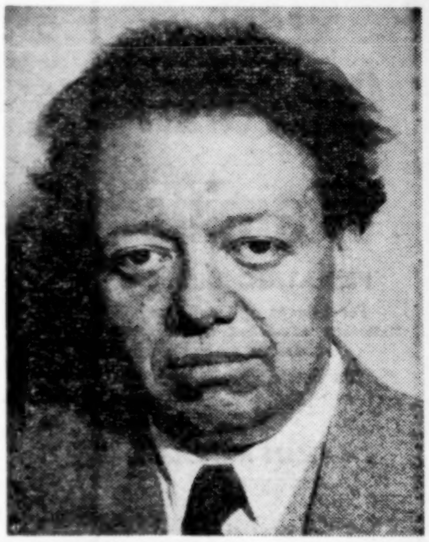
THE PASSING OF A GIANT

Diego Rivera and his vision: a universal fiesta

By Elmer Bendiner

A SINGLE PINK ROSE from the President of Mexico, a wreath from the Soviet Embassy, flowers from the Spanish Republicans in exile and a Communist Party banner went with Diego Rivera to the Cemetery of Dolores on Nov. 26 when he was buried in Mexico's Rotunda of Illustrious Sons. Among the 2,000 mourners were Mexico's elder statesman Lazaro Cardenas, artist David Alfaro Siqueiros and crowds of the anonymous who people Rivera's murals.

Rivera had moved as a giant in art and politics, two fields which to him were inseparable. He was the most political of artists, the most artistic of politicos. He, Siqueiros and Orozco had founded an art movement which thundered revolutionary doctrine from Mexican walls in an idiom particularly Mexican. They talked socialism in rich Indian symbols of the conquest and the long fight since then to regain freedom. Their object was to talk plainly to people, not alone to those who visit museums; to talk not of abstract freedom, but of specific freedom for specific people. Freedom, thus spelled out, became luminous to the tourist as well as the peon. The revolutionary message on Mexico's walls survives even when the revolution wanes in much of the rest of Mexico.



DIEGO RIVERA AND SOME OF THOSE WHO MOURNED IN MEXICO CITY
Leaving the Bellas Artes museum where he lay in state for burial among Mexico's honored sons.

A PIECE OF CHALK: Diego Maria Concepcion Juan Nepomuceno Estanislo de la Rivera y Barrientos de Acosta y Rodriguez was born in 1886 in the silver-mining town of Guanajuato. In his family line were Mexicans, Spaniards, Tarascan Indians, Russians and Jews. His father had a part interest in a silver mine that never quite clicked. He also had a crusading liberalism that led him to champion Indian causes. The family tradition included in it a Spanish marquis who took part in Spain's first Republican revolution in 1838 and then had to flee to Mexico.

At the age of three Diego was given a room, completely bare except for blackboards which covered all four walls as high as he could reach when standing on a chair. He was turned loose with chalk to do as he liked with the room. He grew up and went to school when Porfirio Diaz was presiding over the plundering of Mexico. By the age of 21, when he was sponsored on a trip to Europe, he had grown politically to the point where he was followed by police agents.

He studied in European schools, talked art and politics with Picasso. He returned to Mexico for a brief hand in the 1910 revolution, then went back to Europe and breathed the revolutionary air of 1917. Rivera returned to Mexico in the early twenties, began to paint frescoes and took a hand in the Communist Party. Peasants who knew only his frescoes sought his nomination for the Presidency of Mexico on the CP ticket.

THE LIVING CANVAS: In 1927 a marcher in an Agrarian Party demonstration through Mexico City called out to him: "Diego, here at last are your paintings." The peons of Mexico remained his favorite subjects. In 1927 he made his first trip to the Soviet Union as a guest at the 10th anniversary of the revolution. Two years later, while Indians were queuing up to see his murals of the conquest at Cortes' Palace in Cuernavaca, he became embroiled in the first of his difficulties with the Mexican CP. Some say it was a controversy over whether he should be painter first and political leader afterward, or vice versa. Some point to doctrinal difficulties, to temperament. In 1929 he was expelled from the CP. Then followed years of association with Trotzky and his followers, years of aloofness from the Communist movement, readmission to the CP and another break with it.

His personal rebellion took on a spectacular flair: a mural for the Rockefellers, featuring Lenin and Trotsky; an atheist carrying on his banners: "God Does Not Exist," for the walls of a swank hotel in Mexico; the comedian Cantinflas substituting for the legendary saintly figure of Juan Diego in a Mexican movie house with the 9,000 Mexican millionaires posed against the 20,000,000 he said were equal to 000. He explained the three zeros by saying they referred to the Mexicans who are "three times poor. They have three times nothing."

In 1954 he rejoined the CP, painted murals to match headlines as in the fall of Guatemala, regretted his maverick days, engaged in polemics against the Paris modernists, including his fellow-Communist Picasso.

In August, 1955, Rivera went to the Soviet Union to be operated on for cancer. The operation was apparently successful and he returned to continue painting. Early in November he was stricken with phlebitis. He suffered a heart attack and on Nov. 24 he died. Nearing his 71st birthday (Dec. 8) he was still at work on three projects when he died.

"A GREAT FIESTA": Rivera was married five time, twice to Frida Kahlo, an eminent artist in her own right. In 1951, three years before she died, Frida Kahlo wrote a tender tribute to Diego Rivera. The occasion was the show celebrating 50 years of Rivera's work in Mexico's Bellas Artes museum. She found three qualities in her husband: "first, that of a consistent revolutionary fighter, extraordinarily sensitive and vital . . . a fantastic enthusiast for life, yet always dissatisfied that he had not succeeded in learning more, building more and painting more, second, an eternal curiosity, the quality of a tireless investigator of everything; third, his absolute lack of prejudgment, and therefore of blind faith, for Diego agreed with Montaigne that 'where doubt ceases, stupidity begins'."

She sketched the world Diego Rivera wanted: ". . . a great fiesta in which all would have a part—everything from mankind to the stones, from the lights to the shadows; each cooperating with its own beauty and creative power: a fiesta of form, color, movement, sound, intelligence, knowledge, emotion. A world-wide fiesta, intelligent and loving, that would cover the whole face of the earth. . . . He has no friends but allies. In the society in which we live all of us are his allies who, like him, answer the imperative necessity of destroying the false premises of the existing world."

DETAIL OF RIVERA'S MURAL ON MEDICINE, ANCIENT AND MODERN, IN MEXICO CITY'S HOSPITAL DE LA RAZA

LINUS PAULING

A crash program for peace now

Special to the Guardian

LIVERMORE, CALIF.

FIVE HUNDRED persons from all over Northern California on Nov. 24 heard Nobel Prize winner Dr. Linus Pauling call for a "crash program" for peace in the first regional mass meeting to protest continued nuclear tests.

Arriving in car caravans, the peace pilgrims jammed Forester's Hall and stood in the street listening to the address over loudspeakers. Many cars bore placards reading: "Save Humanity—Brotherhood, Not Bombs."

Roy Kepler, Palo Alto businessman, who was chairman, stressed the need to combat the psychological warfare being waged against the American people. A cultivated spirit of hopelessness has thus far hampered all attempts to create a peace movement in this country, he said.

Dr. Pauling asked that scientists help to educate the citizens, because they better understand the problems of the modern world. Taking issue with those who seek to minimize the dangers inherent in continued bomb testing, he said: "Not one human being should be sacrificed for a project."

He called for an end to extreme nationalism, for moving diplomacy out of the 19th century into the 20th, better communications among nations in the UN, and direct representation of the peoples of the world in the UN.

The Northern California Committee Against Nuclear Weapons Tests, which sponsored the meeting, is conducting a campaign to raise funds for newspaper ads. Interested contributors can make checks payable to Ben Seaver, American Friends Service Committee, 1830 Sutter St., San Francisco, Calif.

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CHILDREN'S SERIES

AGE 2-6

FP5 SONGS TO GROW ON (Nursery Days. Vol. 1), sung by Woody Guthrie with guitar. Prize winning activity album. Superv. by B. Landeck. Put Your Finger in the Air, Come See, Race You Down the Mountain, Car Song, Don't You Push Me Down, My Dolly, How Doo Do, Pick It Up, Merry Go Round, Sleepy Eyes, Wake Up, Clean-O.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP715 SONGS TO GROW ON for MOTHER AND CHILD. Composed, played and sung by WOODY GUTHRIE. Accompaniment includes drum, guitar, rattle, tambourine. The songs are: Grass-y, Grass, Grass; Swim-y, Swim, Swim; Little Sack of Sugar, Rattle My Rattle, I Want My Milk, Grow, Grow, Grow; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; One Day, 2 Days, 3 Days Old; Wash-y, Wash, Wash; I'll Eat You and I'll Drink You; Make A Bubble, Who's My Pretty Baby?; Write a Word. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP721 FOLK SONGS FOR YOUNG FOLK. Vol. 1, Animals. Sung by Alan Mills with guitar accompaniment. Alphabet Song, One More River, Mistress Bond, Who Killed Cock Robin, The Bird's Ball, The Barnyard Song, Three Little Pigs, The Carrion Crow, The Tailor and the Mouse, A Frog He Would A-Wooing Go, The Mallard, Little Bingo, I Know An Old Lady Who Swallowed A Fly.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

AGE 5-10

FP20 SONGS TO GROW ON (School Days. Vol. 2). American folk songs for children sung by Pete Seeger, Charity Bailey, Adelaide Van Wey, Lead Belly, Cisco Houston. Coll. by Beatrice Landeck. Text. By 'm By, Mail Boat, Cape Cod Chantey, Rock Island Line, Mocking Bird, Crawdad Hole, Night Herding Song, Going to Boston, Fire Down Below, Skip to My Lou, Tell Aunt Rhodie, Brass Wagon, Grey Goose, etc.
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FP711 BIRDS, BEASTS, BUGS and BIGGER FISHES. Animal Songs for school days, sung by Pete Seeger with banjo, Mole in the Ground, Elephant Don't Sleep, The Little Black Bull, Good Bye Old Paint, As I Went Down to Darby, Keeper Went a-Hunting, Little Bat, Story of the Frog, Bear Hunt, The Fox, Turtle Dove, Old Blue. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

AGE 7-12

FP27 SONGS TO GROW ON (This is My Land. Vol. 3). Amer. 'work' songs for children, Jerry Oil the Car (R.R.) by McClintock; Bonneville Dam (irrigation) by Woodie Guthrie; Lumbermen's Alphabet by Sam Eskin; Old Blue, Hoe Corn (farmers) by Pete Seeger; Cumberland Deer Chase (mountaineer); Miss Alido (cowboy); Old Man, Haul Away Joe (river songs) by Lead Belly; miner's song by Cisco Houston. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP706 FOLLOW THE SUNSET, sung by Charity Bailey and narrated by Robert Emmett. A Beginning Geography record with nine songs from around the world. Adapted for recording by Eunice Holsaert and Charity Bailey, from the book by Herman and Nina Schneider (Doubleday Publ.). Sleep Baby Sleep, Mexican Lullaby, Go Long Lil' Dogies (R.E.), Chinese Lullaby, Kuma Echa, Nigerian Lullaby, All Through the Night, and Shenandoah (R.E.) Notes are included.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FC754 SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN CHILDREN'S SONGS AND GAMES sung by JEAN RITCHIE with dulcimer and guitar. Notes by Kenneth S. Goldstein. Songs include: Jenny, Put the Kettle On, Go in and Out the Window, The Old Soup Gourd, Among the Little White Daisies, Sally Goodin, Fiddle-I-Fee, Old Bald Eagle, Two Dukes a-Riding, Kitty Alone, Love Somebody, The Swapping Song, Old King Cole, The Old Man in the Woods, Old Shoe Boots, Sourwood Mountain, Green Gravels, Mammy Had an Old Goose, Who Killed Cock Robin?
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FC724 JEWISH CHILDREN SONGS AND GAMES, sung by RUTH RUBIN with 5-string banjo accompaniment by PETE SEEGER. Songs include: Michalku, By Dem Shtetl Yomi, Yomi, Tons, Tons, Lomir Zich Ibberbtn, Amol Iz Geven a Myseh, Kesteleh, Shpits-Boydim, Du Maydeleh Du Fines, Oksn, Beker Lit, Hommtashn, Shayn Bin Ich, Shayn, A Genayvi. Descriptive notes include songs in Yiddish and English translation.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP2 WHO BUILT AMERICA. American history thru folksongs. Intro. by Beatrice Landeck. Text. Sung by Bill Bonyon with guitar. Waly, Waly, Praetes, Santy Ano, Boll Weevil, Happiness Song, Chisholm Trail, Mi Chacra, Salangadou, Green Mountain Boys, Erie Canal, Government Claim, Drill Ye Tarriers, Jesse James, Shoot the Buffalo, So Long, Shluf Kind, Kleine Jonges.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP709 MORE SONGS TO GROW ON, sung by Alan Mills (guitar). Hah, This Way, Up In A Baloon, How Old Are You, Raisins and Almonds, These Craw, Trip a Trop Tronjes, We Wish You A Merry Christmas, The Beasts Carol, May Day Carol, The New River Train, I Ride Old Paint, The Big Corral, Haul Away Joe, Donkey Riding, Two In The Middle, Little Lady From Baltimore, Risselty Rosselty, The Bold Fisherman, There Was An Old Man, We Whooped and We Hollered, Liza Jane, American Folk Songs from Beatrice Landeck's new book "More Songs to Grow On.' Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP701 AMERICAN FOLK SONGS for children sung by Pete Seeger with banjo. All Around the Kitchen, Billy Barlow, Bought Me A Cat, Clap Your Hands, Frog Went a-Courting, Jim Along Josie, Jim Crack Corn, She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain, This Old Man, Train is a-Coming. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP703 1, 2, 3 and a-ZING ZING ZING (street songs and games of the children of N.Y.) Recorded and edited by Tony Schwartz in a section of New York. Includes riddle songs, ball-game songs, skip rope and rhythm games and other songs of children performed in on-the-spot activities. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

AGE 9-15

FP48/11 Heritage U.S.A., Vol. 2. SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS narrated by David Kurlan. Patrick Henry, Declaration of Independence, Thomas Paine, Bill of Rights, Benjamin Franklin, Washington's Farewell Address. Part 1.
10" 33⅓ $3.50

FP48/12 Heritage U.S.A., Vol 2. SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS narrated by David Kurlan. Daniel Webster, John Brown, Edward Everett at Gettysburg, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Part 2.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP712 THE STORY OF JAZZ for Children, Young People and others, conceived and narrated by Langston Hughes using the original recordings as demonstrations from the Anthology of Jazz (FOLKWAYS 53, 55, 57, 59, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73 and FP75). "Tops," Downbeat and High Fidelity magazines. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

INSTRUCTION

FP303 5-STRING BANJO INSTRUCTOR with PETE SEEGER. A Basic Strum, The Fifth String, 'Hammering on', Pulling off, Double thumbing, Frailing, Three finger picking, A loud strum, miscellaneous postscripts, 3/4 and 6/8 time, Blues and jazz, Spanish and South American guitar techniques. Illustrated Manual.
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Y BAZAAR

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FOR AGES 3-7

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FOR AGES 8-12

THE SECRET OF COOKIES, CANDIES and CAKES by Helen Jill Fletcher; illustrated by Margaret Zimmerman. Good, gay and simple recipes for the young pastry chef. How to make cookies, decorate cakes, make lollipops and many other fancy sweets for parties. Step-by-step illustrations, color on every page, large easy-to-read type. $2.50

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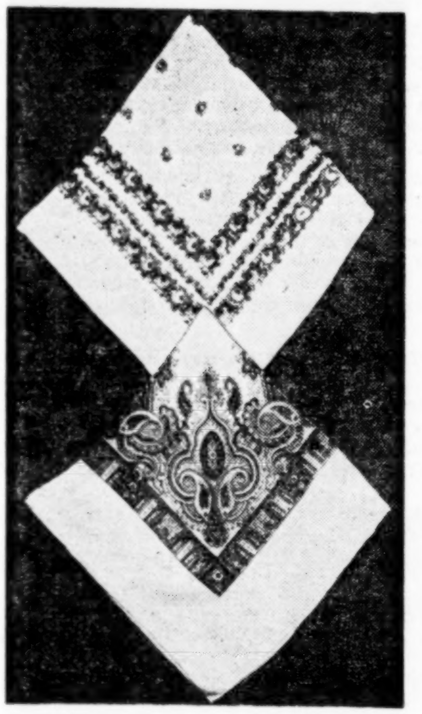
PICTURE GUIDE TO BEGINNER'S CHESS by Al Horowitz, editor of the Chess Review and three times U.S. Open Champion. How to play chess, shown step-by-step with photographs and diagrams. Teaches all the beginner needs to know plus the guiding principles that will instill confidence. A solid foundation for any beginner of any age $2.95



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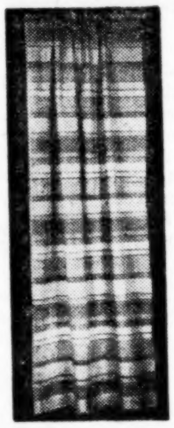

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LITERATURE

PF90 LANGSTON HUGHES and STERLING BROWN. Hughes reads from his "Simple Speaks His Mind" Feet Live Their Own Lives, Landladies, Simple Prays a Prayer, Wooing the Muse; and Brown reads his Break of Day, Sharecropper, Slim in Hell, Old Lem, Old King Cotton, Putting on the Dog.
12" 33⅓ rpm $3.95

FL9703 SERENADE by AARON KRAMER reading his own and poems by POETS OF NEW YORK. ALEXANDER F. BERGMAN, MAXWELL BODENHEIM, MORRIS ROSENFELD. Accompanying text with drawings by: Fried, Harris, Hale, Neel, Kruckman, Lishinsky, Tamback, Reisman, Solman, Strickland, Toney, Weingarten, supply the backdrop for these poems of the Metropolis.
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AMERICAN FOLK MUSIC

FPI SQUARE DANCES with Piute Pete and his Country Cousins. Easterns, Westerns, Play-partys; Calls and instrumental. Descriptive book. Buffalo Gals, Red River Valley, Steam Boat, Looby Loo, Shoo Fly, Step Right Back, Ricketts Hornpipe, Duck for Oyster.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP3 DARLING COREY with Pete Seeger and his 5-string banjo in favorite folksongs. Notes by Alan Lomax. Ill. by Y. Cunningham. John Riley, Devilish Mary, East Virginia Blues, Cripple Creek, Penny's Farm, Danville Girl, Darling Corey, Risselty Rosselty, Ida Red, Old Joe Clark, My Blue Eyed Girl, Come All Fair Maids, Jerry's Rocks, Skillet Greasy, I Had a Wife.
10' 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP10 LONESOME VALLEY. A collection of American folk songs with Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, Tom Glazer, Woody Guthrie, Bess Lomax, Cisco Houston, B. Hawes. Down in the Valley, On Top of Old Smoky, Arthritis Blues, Polly Wolly Doodle, Rambler, Lonesome Traveler, Sowing on the Mountain, Black Eyed Suzie, Cowboy Waltz. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP43 PETE SEEGER SAMPLER. Folk Songs including Concert (Hootenany) recordings sampling the well-spring of folk music and the genius of Pete Seeger with his 5-string banjo. Concert Includes: I'm On My Way, Heh, Lolly Lolly Lo, Hush! Tara, Tara, I Was Born in 1894, Suliram, Joshua Fit The Battle of Jericho. Folk Songs include: Johnny Comes Down to Hilo, Putting On The Style, Deep Blue Sea, Spanish folk song, Dig My Grave, Delia's Gone, Christmas (Italian) folk song. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP11 TALKING DUST BOWL WITH WOODY GUTHRIE. The original Dust Bowl Ballads, Migrant Songs. So Long It's Been Good to Know You, Dust Storm Disaster, Talking Dust Bowl Blues, Dust Can't Kill Me, Blowing Down This Road Feeling Bad, Dust Bowl Refugee, Tom Joad. Text.
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TODAY

China: the first full story

THE WORLD OUTSIDE the U.S. is tremendously aware of the new China. Peking, every visitor notes, is a center of pilgrims from many nations, as China's capital has not been since the days of the T'ang. From this exciting interchange we Americans are banished, not by the Chinese but by the Pentagon's hunger for Formosa.

Knowledge reaches us, but through other nations. Last June **Holiday** magazine ran an illustrated feature on China; the editor ruefully explained that he had to use a British writer and a French photographer. More recently, American students who went to China in defiance of Dulles, returned to be questioned by eager groups. They paid the price in confiscated passports and, in one case, confiscated baggage, but found the price small for a gorgeous 7,000-mile jaunt from Manchuria to Canton, taking in Shanghai and the Wuhan Yangtze bridge. The Chinese tactfully help their guests avoid the charge of "trading with the enemy" by giving them everything free, a retort to Washington discourtesy that seems characteristically Chinese.

SO, OUR FIRST FULL account in English of China's road to socialism comes from a British publisher (reprinted in the U.S. by Monthly Review). Its author, Solomon Adler, might have been usefully promoting American interests in China, if our foreign policy sought wider interests than those of the Pentagon and the China Lobby. For Adler went to China in 1941 for the U.S. Treasury and represented the U.S. on China's Stabilization Board and later as Treasury attaché at the Embassy until 1947. His present book, under the unassuming title **The Chinese Economy***, is what one asks from a treasury expert: a minimum of color and maximum of statistical fact. But it gives the first full story of the mid-century's great sensation—China's new socialist way.

GUARDIAN readers, better supplied than most with news from China, will find little that is entirely new. But they will find more detail and fuller documentation than we have had before. Adler covers China's geography, basic resources, economic progress, agriculture, industrialization, five year plans, transportation, finance, living conditions, education, foreign trade. He traces the growth of policies from those laid down in 1949 in "The Common Program" of all the consulting political parties, to those in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China adopted five years later in September, 1954. He notes the economic reason for these changes and, incidentally, makes us aware that the constitution was preceded by the world's most populous nationwide election, which occupied nearly one-fourth of the human race for approximatey a year.

NATURAL RESOURCES, largely unexplored before 1949, are seriously underestimated by western writers. Recent findings have doubled the known coal resources, making China one of the three or four richest lands in the world in coal. Present estimate of water-power potential is over 300,000,000 kilowatts, even more than the U.S. In iron ore China claims, on basis of recent surveys, the largest known deposits in the world. By 1954 oil had been found in larger quantities than in Iran.

For more than a generation—from 1911—China was racked by warlords and wars. By 1948 the Kuomintang had ceased to be "a going concern." Its army and civil service were chiefly occupied in taking what they could from the population. American aid, amounting in 12 years to over $4,500,000,000, went mostly to enrich top officials and prolong civil war. Irrigation works broke down, areas were subject to flood, farm output fell off, industry was disorganized. Enormous deficits were covered by printing currency. Towards the end wholesale prices in Shanghai rose 85,000 times within six months and interest rates were 14% per day.

In this demoralized economy came the new People's Government, formally instituted Oct. 1, 1949. Since then China's economy has evolved so fast that Adler distinguishes among (1) point of departure; (2) current practice; and (3) the goal. The point of departure was the economic ruin left by Chiang's regime. The "current practice" changes; its chief characteristic, as contrasted with the Russian revolution, being flexibility and variety. The goal is socialism "of the same type Russia seeks." But the Chinese Communists guide this change by what Adler describes as "a remarkable and conscious combination of gradualism with revolution."

OVER 30 YEARS AGO, says Adler, Russian leaders prescribed two dimensions for Communist construction: Russian zeal and American efficiency. To these should now be added Chinese patience or, elsewhere, Chinese flexibility.

In the case of the peasants, for instance,—the most basic and difficult change—socialism in agriculture was approached by three stages. First came "mutual aid teams," in which a few families exchanged labor, while property remained privately owned. Next came "producers' cooperatives" of the "semi-socialist" type: land was individually owned but operated jointly; livestock and implements were gradually bought by the cooperatives from the peasants on the instalment plan. In the final stage land, livestock and implements are jointly owned and members are paid for their work. Mao Tse-tung insisted that each stage be "voluntary," but, by the step-by-step method, collectivization of farms went as fast as in the U.S.S.R., with far fewer losses.

The general development of the national economy also followed a step-by-step method. The first economic task was to restore the ruins. The "basic principle," stated in the "Common Program" in 1949, was "develop production . . . to a prosperous economy." All productive forces were encouraged, whether state-owned, cooperative, individual peasants, private capitalist or state capitalist.

THE LAND REFORM, the most important single factor in the Chinese Communist success, was also basically finished by the end of 1952. Over 115,000,000 acres had been distributed and 399,000,000 peasants had benefitted. China's land reform, estimates Adler, contributed directly to "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" more than any single measure in word history.

CHAIRMAN MAO GETS AN ASSIST FROM SOME YOUNG VISITORS TO PEKING

This tremendous event also showed great variety in practice. No attempt was made at absolute equality. Poor peasants got considerable land but still averaged less than "middle peasants." Lands of "rich peasants" were protected as long as they were cultivated, even if by hired labor. The result of this "gradual approach" was that China, unlike Russia, experienced no disruption of farm production. On the contrary, farm output increased 25% a year in 1951 and 1952. Farmers bought implements, seeds, fertilizers and insecticides they could never have afforded before. Finally they began to buy bicycles and fountain pens. The peasant became for the first time, a man and a citizen. This made possible other profound changes: the fight for sex equality, literacy and the expansion of public health.

AT THE END OF 1952, with completion of reconstruction, appeared the First Five Year Plan for economic advance. The changes begun in this plan were recognized in 1954 by a new constitution. Varying forms of ownership remained but the emphasis changed. The function of the state had been "to regulate;" now it became "to direct and transform." The policy towards rich peasants became "to restrict and gradually eliminate." The policy towards capitalist industry was no longer to assist all production but "to use, restrict and transform" capitalist production.

AT THIS POINT we come upon an interesting term, "state capitalism," which has been variously defined. China's definition noted different forms of state capitalism. The "lowest form" was that in which the state bought the output of private enterprise; not very different from what happens in the U.S. today. But the state, by control of raw materials and markets soon pushed the lowest form into the "intermediate form," in which the state hired private factories to produce on advance orders. In this form the state control was not uniform but fixed by contract, far more flexible than anything Russia ever developed in handling private capital. Instead of control by officialdom through bureaucratic decree, which productive forces everywhere resent, China substituted control by the owners of materials and markets, the control that is normal to production.

The "highest form" of state capitalism is the "joint enterprise" in which, through normal forms of share capital, the state owns increasing shares of the enterprise as majority stock holder. This process is not unlike the "normal" capitalist way in which small capitalists are squeezed out by big corporations. The Chinese way was, if anything, easier and more humane than capitalism on the little businessman.

IN 1955 THE "SPEED of socialist transformation" became terrific. Targets set in July of that year indicated that by 1957 half of the private industrial capacity would be absorbed into "joint enterprises," that one-third of the peasants would join semi-socialist producer's cooperatives. These targets seemed high when announced but were more than reached within 6 months. By the end of 1955 (NOT 1957) half (not one-third) of the peasants had joined producers cooperatives. This at once reacted on handicraft and private industry.

By the end of 1955 all private factories with over 500 workers had become "joint-owned." Whole trades then began to "go over" to joint ownership with tremendous celebrations. By the end of January, 1956, all private industry in 70% of the cities was already in joint ownership with the state or the municipality.

The liquidation of private enterprise was "in retrospect extraordinarily rapid," says Adler. But it was smooth, peaceful, with no sharp breaks in policy. There was no "outright confiscation," except for the earlier seizure of "bureaucratic capital." The capitalists got shares, on which they are guaranteed 5 percent interest, presumably for seven years. This temporary fixed income is, says Adler, "the last institutional survival of capitalism today in most Chinese industry and trade." As late as the beginning of 1957, he notes, there were still 69 "millionaires" in China, men who earned in interest $450,000 (American) annually from their past ownership. They were "on their way out," but it was done gradually.

ADLER THINKS that Russia's greatest help to China was not in the gift of capital and industrial goods, but in the technical help sent—as many as 20,000 technicians at a time—and the training of Chinese in Russian institutions. These technicians and engineers, he says, were much better suited to help China than were the American engineers who went to work in Russia during the first Five Years plans.

Full industrialization of China, thinks Adler, will take two generations. But China is likely to fulfill her first Five Year Plan. This will make her a serious rival to Japan for the industrial leadership of Asia. During the second Five Year Plan, Adler prophesies, she will probably leave Japan behind.

**THE CHINESE ECONOMY, By Solomon Adler, Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N.Y. 276 pp. including Appendices and Index. $5.*

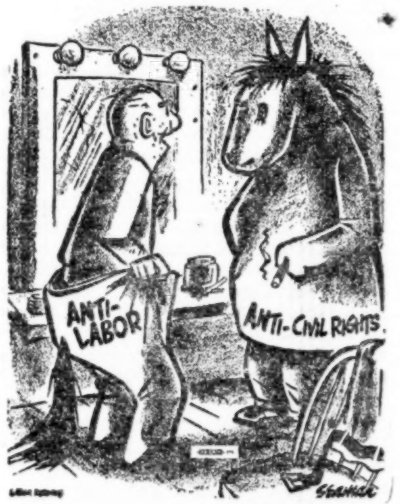
The labor story

(Continued from Page 1)

Coast Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union declared in the latest issue of its official paper, **The Dispatcher**, that an anti-labor program in Congress "could only be effectively put over in one way—and that would be with the help of labor, itself, or its leadership. From the latter that help is now being given." The paper added that "there is no law that Congress can enact, or none that Meany can think up, that will make a union officer honest or force him to give honest service. Only the rank and file of the labor unions can do that job."

The **Wall St. Journal** reported last Oct. 23 that the Eisenhower Administration "is drafting tough new proposals to curtail union leaders' powers over the workingman and his money . . ." Legislative proposals are expected to include measures to put labor under the anti-trust laws and for a national "right-to-work" law which would outlaw the union shop.

Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell has announced that his department will recommend legislation, but said it won't include a "right-to-work" law. He said he personally does not favor applying anti-trust laws to labor, but refused to say if that is the Administration's view.



Labor's Daily

"Team! Team! Team!"

LEGAL THREATS: Sen. John L. McClellan, chairman of the committee investigating labor, has said it will "take some laws" to clean up the trade unions and insists that labor cannot do the job itself. He declares that it is "most important to re-establish, where it does not now exist, and compel by law if necessary, the democratic processes in union organizations."

Sen. Irving M. Ives (R.-N.Y.), vice chairman of the McClellan committee, has proposed four amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act which he says are "designed to help labor and management to protect themselves against the odorous minority of unscrupulous men in both camps." His measures would require publication of detailed annual reports of all union receipts and disbursements; compel by law secret ballots in the election of all officers and in all major union decisions; penalize "middlemen" who perform anti-union work for employers for pay; and restrict "organizational picketing."

MEANY VS. TEAMSTERS: On the eve of the AFL-CIO convention there were widespread rumors that efforts were being made to head off expulsion of the teamsters' union but that Meany was holding firm for the ouster. As the convention got under way, teamster president-elect James R. Hoffa was involved in two court actions: he was on trial in New York on a wire-tapping charge and in Washington a trial was begun on Dec. 2 on charges brought by 13 dissident union members that he was illegally elected at the union's convention last Oct. 4.

In mid-November Meany rejected a plea by seven anti-Hoffa locals in New York not to expel the union but to aid the rank and file to run its own affairs. The locals wrote: "We believe . . . that only such determined grass roots efforts, conducted in the traditional American concept of democratic processes, can and will succeed in making our union one that each of its members can be proud of. We are firmly convinced that such changes can never be brought about successfully by court orders, legislative intervention or by directives of the AFL-CIO. We ask that you and your co-members of the executive council reject expulsion of our union as the only course open to you."

THEY TOOK HIS PASSPORT AWAY BEFORE HE HIT THE MAINLAND

When Earl R. Williamson, 23, Oakland high school teacher, reached Honolulu on his trip home from China (he was there with the U.S. youth delegation) his passport was lifted. Others of the delegation who pierced Dulles' bamboo curtain suffered likewise. Above, Williamson is interviewed by reporters at San Francisco.

Passport story

(Continued from Page 1)

Court). They held that the President did not delegate to the Secretary of State the discretion to deny passports, and could not because he does not possess it himself: ". . . any broad power to curtail the movements of citizens of the U.S. . . . is vested in Congress, and not in the President." The opinion scoffed at State Dept. arguments that passport authority is an instrument of foreign policy: "Travel is being controlled today for purposes of internal security. To call it a matter of foreign relations is mere pretense."

THE DULLES MIND: In a separate comment, Judge Edgerton said: "We have temporized too long with the passport practices of the State Dept. Iron curtains have no place in a free world." He added this caustic description of Dulles' role:

"The Secretary proposes to continue restricting the personal liberty of a citizen because statements by informants whom the Secretary does not identify have led him to think that if the citizen goes abroad he will do something, the nature of which the Secretary does not suggest, which the Secretary thinks, for reasons known only to him, will be contrary to what, for reasons known only to him, he conceives to be 'the national interest.' . . . May the government deprive a citizen of his constitutional liberty to go abroad (1) without a jury trial, (2) without a definite standard of guilt, (3) without sworn testimony, and (4) without an opportunity to confront his accusers or know their identity?"

LOWER COURT ORDERS: Although this will be the first Supreme Court test of the State Dept.'s passport powers, lower courts generally have dealt roughly with the regulations in effect since 1952. Last August Roderic L. O'Connor, head of the Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, complained that the Secretary's power over passports "has been quite impaired" by court decisions in the past two years.

On at least three occasions courts have ordered the Department to issue passports it had denied. These were in the cases of Donald Ogden Stewart, American writer and playwright now living in London; Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of the estate of Albert Einstein; and attorney Leonard B. Boudin. In four other cases, the Department reversed itself after court action had been begun, apparently because of reluctance to face a Supreme Court test.

BEFORE CONGRESS: The passport issue is almost certain to come before Congress in the next session. The President's Commission on Government Security has made a series of recommendations for revision of passport laws which, the **Washington Post** has said, "would go a long way toward converting (America) into a garrison state." These recommendations have been introduced in Congress in a bill sponsored by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D.-Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Among other things, the bill would make it a crime to travel to a country where a passport was declared invalid by the State Dept., as in the cases of three newsmen who visited China and the group of 42 youth who recently toured that country. It would also make it a crime to refuse to surrender a passport revoked by the State Dept.

A "BLANK CHECK": In opposition to this, Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D.-Mo.) has said he will propose legislation to limit the authority of the Secy. of State to deny passports. He has said: "Congress has been utterly remiss in its exercise of this power. It has given a blank check to the Secy. of State, which John Foster Dulles has cashed over and over again. I believe Congress should stop payment on this blank check at once." Hennings has cited as a prime example the case of scientist Dr. Linus Pauling who was granted a passport only after winning a Nobel prize. Hennings says he was previously denied the right to travel by the State Dept. solely "on its own mere suspicion" and quoted one official as saying that Dr. Pauling's statements "had not been anti-communist enough."

Commenting on the pending legislation, the Washington **Post** wrote last June: "The right to travel is a basic human right recognized as such by the General Assembly of the United Nations and implicitly guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. It is too precious to free men to be carelessly or needlessly abridged. Experience has already shown abundantly that the State Dept., given arbitrary power to deny passports, will use it arbitrarily. It is time for this country to move, not in the direction of more rigid controls, but in the direction of greater personal freedom."

NO PROTECTION OF THE FAMILY

The Wades sell their Louisville home

LOUISVILLE, KY.

MR. AND MRS. ANDREW E. WADE IV announced last month that they have sold their home on Rone Court because the County Police Dept. failed to arrest and convict those who dynamited the house in June, 1954. They said the recent indictment of top police officials convinced them that the department is so corrupt and inefficient that it would never provide adequate protection to them and their little girl.

The residence is just outside suburban Shively, in a segregated area where there is no city police protection. It was 60% destroyed by a dynamite explosion about six weeks after it had been occupied by the Wades, who are Negroes.

The house lay in ruins for three years as a result of court suits over the ownership. Last spring Mr. and Mrs. David Simonson of Chicago lent the Wades $12,326 (interest free) to pay off mortgages, accumulated interest, and court costs.

DOWN PAYMENT LOST: The Simonsons said they wanted the Wades to have the right to decide whether they wished to continue to live in the house, instead of being forced to move by court action. The house was repaired during the summer and fall and then offered for sale. Wade reported that he will have just about enough money to repay the Simonsons after real-estate fees and other costs are deducted from the sale price of $13,250. The Wades paid $11,300 for the house on May 10, 1954. They will lose their $1,500 down payment, and will continue to live in the Louisville ghetto.

Wade cited the indictment of County Police Chief Walter Layman for covering up the fact that the chief's son robbed a man of his watch and money on a public highway. He also pointed to the indictment of Capt. Carlos Johns for failing to arrest a drunken driver. The driver had paid Johns to keep extra watch on his subdivision development near Shively. The bombed house is in Johns' district.

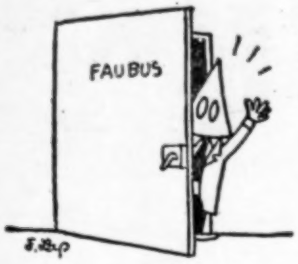
TOO MUCH TO EXPECT: Wade recalled a recent promise by Gov. A. B. Chandler that state police would guard the house if needed, or if county police were delinquent in protecting it. "My wife feels that the house might be blown to bits again before state police could even get to the scene," Wade declared. "It is too much to expect her to take that chance. It is a miracle that she did not lose our youngest child when the house was blown up before."

The house in question was sold to the Wades by Anne and Carl Braden, a white couple, who had bought it from the builder at the Wades' request after the Negro couple was unable to make the purchase. The Bradens and other white friends of the Wades were indicted for sedition, and Braden was given 15 years in prison on that charge. His conviction was overturned by the Kentucky Court of Appeals after he had served eight months. Charges against the others were then dismissed without trial.

All 14 in California free

AT GUARDIAN press-time, it was learned that a Federal judge in Los Angeles had dismissed conspiracy indictments against nine California Communist leaders in the Smith Act case there. The Supreme Court last June 7 had freed five others and had ordered a new trial for the nine.

The judge acted after a U.S. attorney conceded that the government "cannot satisfy the evidentiary requirements laid down by the Supreme Court" in its June action. The Court at that time decreed that advocating the forcible overthrow of the government as an abstract doctrine is not a crime. It also ruled that the statute of limitations had run out on another charge against the 14.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

SINCE MAY, 1954

'With All Deliberate Speed'

THREE YEARS AGO the Southern Education Reporting Service was established in Nashville, Tenn., by 12 newspaper editors and educators. It set out to provide a "paper of record" for those who wanted to keep abreast of the ebb and flow of the battle to desegregate the public schools. The result has been **Southern School News**, a valuable state-by-state account which summarizes the details behind the headlines on this vital front.

In **With All Deliberate Speed*** Don Shoemaker, executive editor of **Southern School News**, presides over a symposium which wraps up the South's experience with desegregation since the Supreme Court's May, 1954, decision. The contributors—10 staff members of SSN, a jurist and an educator—are all competent reporters and their book is worth reading.

Its value lies mainly in its use as a reference text. Here we find the story of developments in the border states and in the deep South, the contrasts between rural and urban areas, the political ferment which hastens the break-up of the once-solid South, the violence at Clinton, Tenn., Sturgis, Ky., and in the Autherine Lucy case.

THE MISSING FACT: Since 1954, only 685 of the 3,008 school districts including Negro and white school children in the 17-state Southern and border areas, have begun to desegregate. Only seven of these districts are outside the border region—in Arkansas and Tennessee. Eight states have taken no steps at all; in others the compliance with the Court's ruling has been but a token to forestall real integration.

The book includes a table showing the record for each state in the region as of June 30, 1957. It also lists the types of legislative measures adopted since 1954 to stop or slow down integration; 136 such laws are now on Southern statute books. An appendix of public colleges which have accepted or resisted desegregation and a bibliography of books, pamphlets, periodicals and magazine and newspaper articles covering the three-year period is of particular value.

Editor Shoemaker asked the contributors to "park their opinions at some convenient curb and essay the role of reporter." This is a weakness, as well as a strength, of the book. The abhorrence of opinion results in a lack of needed analysis. Further, while one cannot dispute the facts presented, a pretty big fact of Southern life is grossly underplayed: what, in detail, is happening in the Negro community? Certainly one of 12 chapters might well have been devoted to this historic development. It would have added to the objectivity on which the SERS prides itself and which is the main selling point of the book.

L. E. B.

**WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED*, Edited by Don Shoemaker, 239 pp., Harper & Bros., 49 E. 33 St., N.Y. 16, 3.50.*

RADIO-TV THE TARGET

Catholic bishops spur censorship

HOW TO LIMIT LIBERTY seemed to be the keynote of a three-day conference in Washington last month attended by 178 bishops, archbishops and cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church. They summed up their deliberations in a 2,400-word statement, entitled "Censorship," which promised to implement a Papal encyclical issued Sept. 8 instructing the Church to bring radio and TV under their "moral scrutiny."

The Catholic Legion of Decency passes judgment on movies; the Natl. Office for Decent Literature on the printed word. The hierarchy voted to spend a year surveying the best way to pressure radio and TV to conform to Church standards.

The statement came out for freedom of the press, but only "within the laws of right reason"; for "liberty," but against "uncritical claims for and in defense of liberty." It was important to shed divinely-inspired light not only on the meaning of liberty but "also on its limits."

MORAL CENSORSHIP: The bishops and cardinals stood four-square for artistic freedom but added that "art that is false to morality is not true art." There seemed to be no doubt who was to decide when art was false and when liberty exceeded limits. Though the statement tried to take on the coloring of 20th-century U.S. with a ringing defense of the Constitution, there were medieval overtones: "Morally, the Church can and does exercise what is called censorship. This right is hers from her office as teacher of morals and guardian of divine truth."

The statement indicated that there was no coercion involved since only Catholics or those who share the Church's views on where liberty should be limited would be affected. In fact, however, the Church has repeatedly applied stiffer pressure. Movies under the ban have been picketed by Catholic War Veterans and the threat of such a picket line was enough to deter producers from making a movie on juvenile delinquency that was to have been written by playwright Arthur Miller.

THE SANGER INTERVIEW: Last September before TV's Mike Wallace interviewed birth-control advocate Margaret Sanger over the American Broadcasting System network, two officials of Cardinal Spellman's office made every effort to persuade the network to cancel the show.

After the interview the official organ of the Albany diocese accused the program of securing "entrance into millions of decent homes to taint them with her [Mrs. Sanger's] evil philosophy of lust and animalistic mating." Bishop William A. Scully of Albany heads the committee to devise ways and means of morally scrutinizing TV and radio.

AFTER 54 YEARS . . .
For the first time since Wilhelm II in 1903, a German head of state visited a Pope when President Theodor Heuss called on Pius XII last week. The Vatican went all out in its reception. The Pope gave Heuss a gold medal, told him to take it easy on German unification, got a harpsichord in return.

The **Brooklyn Tablet**, Brooklyn diocese newspaper, denounced ABC and Wallace's sponsor, the Philip Morris Co., for bringing "barnyard ethics into our living rooms."

The churchmen indicated that obscenity would be their target. They conceded that there are laws to prosecute obscenity and Supreme Court decisions which have ruled that obscenity is not protected by the Constitution. They said such rulings confirmed that liberty is not "absolute," that limits are now sanctioned by official interpretation of the Constitution. But legal prosecution of obscenity is not enough, the statement said, because there is a wide gap between being "legally punishable and morally good."

EXAMPLE OF SPAIN: The Church proposed to define what is good, what is art and what is moral in all fields. Though powerless to enforce its judgment outright—except among practicing Catholics in the U.S.—the record in countries where the Church has power is ominous. Spain is the classic example of how curiously freedom can be defined.

Francisco Franco has defended "freedom of conscience" so long as non-Catholics do not conflict with Spain's "Catholic unity." He said in 1953: "But this tolerance toward other creeds does not mean freedom of propaganda likely to foster religious discrepancies and perturb the safe and unanimous possession of religious truth in this country."

In almost the same language used by the high churchmen in Washington, the Spanish government justifies Church control of schools to guarantee "the purity of the Faith, good morals and religous education." Reporter Herbert Matthews, in his book **The Yoke and the Arrows**, summed up the result of any system which hands over to Church or government a monopoly on universal truths:

"Everybody censors everything — the Church, the Government and the Army. How could Spain have anything but the worst press in Europe, a daily insult to the Spanish intelligence?"

Mr. Bootstrap's pot of gold

THE MAN WHO IS TRANSFORMING "the poorhouse of the Caribbean" into a pot of gold breezed into San Francisco yesterday bursting with enthusiasm for the free enterprise system. He is Theodoro Moscoso, economic development administrator of Puerto Rico, otherwise known as "Mr. Bootstrap."

To the investor, Mr. Bootstrap has truly created a pot of gold—possibly one of the last great bonanzas the world will ever see. For example:

A Californian invested $3 million in a light manufacturing plant in Puerto Rico in 1952 and sold out last year for $15 million—a net, non-taxable gain of $12 million.

The operator of a small Pennsylvania machinery company opened a 50-man plant in Puerto Rico in 1951. Today he is a millionaire.

[Moscoso's] secret has been to jack up Puerto Rico's siesta-minded economy by its own bootstraps by attracting outside private capital. How does he attract the capital? It's simple. The promise of low wages to start with is a big inducement to private investors.

But the biggest inducement is the tax situation. There are no Federal income or corporation taxes in Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican government (which has commonwealth status under the United States) gives new manufacturers a ten-year exemption from local taxes. Neither is there a duty on goods shipped into the States.

Moscoso has already doubled the income of Puerto Ricans and hopes to double it again by 1975. "By then," he says, "the average standard of living of our people should be about the same as that of people living in Mississippi, the lowest average in the United States."

—San Francisco **Chronicle**, Oct. 14

NEW YORK

"Intimate and Poignant . . . Taste and Warmth" —Atkinson, Times
"Powerful and Expressive"—Amsterdam News
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"Jewish Currents"

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Two GUARDIAN readers on the same day asked me what happened to that doughty little progressive magazine, **Jewish Life**, because they had not seen it on the stands since October. **Jewish Life** is very much alive, but it is on a two-month vacation, so to speak, in order to prepare its appearance in January, 1958, under a new name and new managing editorship. The name: **Jewish Currents;** the new managing editor: the distinguished historian and writer Morris U. Schappes, who served on the editorial board of **Jewish Life** for 11 years. The change of name was forced on the magazine to avoid litigation by another magazine with a similar name. Dr. Louis Harap, who did an outstanding job as associate editor and managing editor for ten years, remains on the board. He resigned to write a long-planned book on aesthetics.

Subscriptions ($2.50 up to January 1; $3 thereafter) may be obtained by writing to Room 601, 22 E. 17th St., New York 3, N.Y.

Sam Pevzner,
Editorial Board

THE GALLERY

RESEARCH GRANTS FROM THE DEPT. OF DEFENSE are no longer acceptable at Quaker-run Haverford College in Pennsylvania. The school's Board of Managers has announced that it "interprets the philosophy of the Dept. of Defense as inconsistent with the peace principles of the Society of Friends." . . . The Houston school board has revised the elementary grades curriculum: Courses in "social studies" and world history are out, replaced by two years of the history of Texas, compulsory for all up to the seventh grade. The liberal weekly **Texas Observer** blames it on the recently-elected school board led by "a know-nothing isolationist named Mrs. Earl Maughner."

EARLY LAST MONTH A NEW JAPANESE documentary, **The World Is Terrified,** opened in Tokyo movie-houses. It shows the effects of radiation on rats, flies, fish, man and his descendants; but the film's director, 49-year-old Fumio Kamei, said he hoped people would not be "pessimistic about the future of mankind . . . While showing the dreadful effects of radioactivity on human life, I tried as best I could to express men's desire for and joy of life through the film."

ANNE BRADEN, A KEY FIGURE in the Louisville, Ky., "Braden Case," has written a moving book on the present-day South which **Monthly Review** will publish in the spring. Mrs. Braden spoke at the GUARDIAN's anniversary dinner on Nov. 21. Another MR book—to appear early next year—describes the trial of the 156 South Africans who defied their country's jimcrow laws: **The South African Treason Trial,** by Lionel Forman and E.S. Sachs. Forman is one of the 156 . . . Harry Belafonte closes his Christmas program at the Waldorf-Astoria's Empire Room with a Hebrew chant which, roughly translated, says: "How better and more pleasant it is for brothers to sit down together as one."

A RESTAURANT GOING UP near New York's Radio City will be done in Madison Av.-Roman with portraits of 12 emperors and two items on the menu allegedly made from recipes dug up by two archaeology professors. There will also be TV sets at every table . . . For the boy who has too many sputniks for Christmas, Black, Starr and Gorham on Fifth Av. is offering a genuine small-size antique suit of armor for $3,000. GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE cannot match this price.

Ludas Matyi, Budapest
"Oh, waiter!"

NOT SINCE THE DAYS of the WPA Theatre Project has any city had so exciting a taste of publicly-sponsored, free theatre as New York has currently in its Shakespeare Festival. The company drew fine notices when it toured the city's parks in the summer playing to crowds who had never seen Shakespeare and looked more for fun than for a solemn ritual playing of a classic. The Festival's current offering at Heckscher Theater, 104th St. and Fifth Av., is a fast-moving slam-bang, continuously exciting **Richard III.** The villain-king in this reading is a conniving politician, played broadly and even close to farce in some scenes (he kisses babies like a contemporary). The melodrama is given a nice edge of wit. The production is gaily mounted, brilliantly directed for speed and excitement . . . Free tickets can be had only by writing in advance to the Festival at the Heckscher Theater, giving a wide selection of alternative dates. **Richard III** will run through December. **As You Like It** is scheduled to open for a five-week run on Jan. 21, **Antony and Cleopatra** on March 18. After that the company hits the parks again . . . The city supplies the theater rent-free and sets the company up in the parks during the summer. All other production costs are met by contributions from private foundations and gifts from individuals. It costs $30,000 to run a show for five weeks.

SOME 10,000 CAR OWNERS and 100,000 commercial vehicles are expected to switch this year to using liquefied petroleum gases instead of conventional gas. These gases used to be burned off as waste. Now they're bottled for house-heating as well as motor fuel. Users save 6c a gallon, get a little less mileage but save 80% of wear and tear on motors since these gases leave no sludge. It takes $250 to make the change-over . . . Success with a new cure for allergies—particularly hay fever—was reported to the American Public Health Assn. It calls for injecting ragweed pollen or other allergens into a cow's udder. The udder manufactures antibodies at a great rate. Volunteers who drink milk from the injected udders at the rate of a quart a day were cured of colds, asthma, eye-twitches.

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NEW YORK

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Opening session, Fri., Dec. 13, 8 p.m., at Willkie Memorial, 20 W. 40 St. All other sessions, Sat. & Sun., Edison Hotel.

The dinner will feature a program of Israeli folk songs and a Hanuka reading from Sholem Aleichem by Sarah Cunningham and Lou Polan. Dinner reservations at $7.50 per person include registration for the Conference and permit attendance at all sessions including the gala opening Friday evening, Dec. 13. The registration fee of $2 per person admits delegates to all sessions of the Conference except the dinner.

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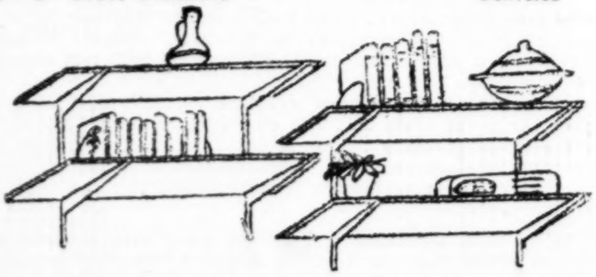

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the SPECTATOR

Cuckoo!

LONDON

THE GOOD WORD from the free world this Thanksgiving is that Rep. Walter's boys have started probing the 41 young Americans' jaunt to China of last summer; and that various Senators have taken off on a tip from Dave Greenglass, the all-purpose "atom spy," that Russia got its sputniks from U.S. "missile secrets" filched by the Rosenbergs. Since the Congressional Crazy Gangs are once more in full cry after the awful truth, I deem it my duty to draw their attention to a secret cargo, done up with old bits of string in a grocery carton, which I saw off to Leningrad from a drafty East London pier.

All the necessary sinister elements of a Soviet plot were there, including the beautiful and, of course, inscrutable blonde. The girl, of the type known hereabouts as "smashing," stood against the ship's prow being quizzed and mugged in the historic raised-arm posture by the press. The prow showed the name "Baltyka" (until lately it bore the name "Molotov"). The story was that 17-year-old Anna Wooster of Cambridge was apparently the first Westerner to inscribe herself as a pupil in Leningrad's ballet school.

ANNA WOOSTER

ONE REPORTER was very lynx of eye and very insistent in asking why Anna was going. Well, said Anna, taking her first press barrage suspiciously like a veteran, she'd been studying ballet since she was nine under a Russian teacher in Cambridge, who thought a spell at the school that trained Pavlova and Ulanova couldn't do Anna any harm. Pregnant frown from the reporter: "Was it ballet that interested you in Russia, or Russia that interested you in ballet?" Said Anna: "Well, I suppose it was more the former—but I think exchange of students is a good thing to make a friendlier atmosphere between countries, don't you?"

The reporter plainly didn't, and switched to the contents of Anna's luggage piled beside her. "I suppose you're taking a lot of ballet shoes?" "No, none," said Anna, "the Russian ones are much better. But it's cold there and you need a lot of clothes."

Anna's story, told so straight that you'd swear it was true, was that she'd gone to the Moscow Youth Festival last summer—"because I wanted to see what Russia was like, and also to dance." She and the visit were a success, and since then the Wooster family had been trying to fix her up at the Leningrad Choreographic School, and she had been learning Russian. Her training would cost so-and-so much—and the reporter asked: "Have you got an export license to take the money out of England?" No, her expenses would be paid from rubles earned by a book of her father's which was published in Moscow this year. "Oh, your father writes books for the Russians?" "Well, the Oxford University Press published it first and then they translated it." "What was it about?" "About crystolographic instruments."

PASSENGERS WERE DRIFTING on board and the reporter, expressing icily polite disbelief from brow to brogans and taking another intent look at Anna's luggage, went on another expedition. His lynx eye had also been caught by another beautiful blonde, a passenger for Helsinki who, trying to arrange last-minute packages in a hand basket, held up despairingly a large round object wrapped in a sweater. "Somebody gave me a five-pound pineapple," she wailed to bystanders in general: "Where can I put it?"

"That reporter never asked what I had in the carton," mused Anna as a porter heaved her luggage on to the customs inspection counter. Anna said: "I've nothing but clothes except for this box."

"What's in there?" asked the customs man.

"Broken cuckoo clocks," said Anna. His bored expression did not flicker as he marked the box okay for taking aboard.

What the reporter would have been told, had he asked about the grocery carton, was that the cuckoo clocks were a present from Anna's father, Dr. W.A. Wooster, to an old friend in the U.S.S.R. The old friend was Peter Kapitza, the Soviet scientist credited with many of his country's top victories in atomic and sputnik research. The friendship was struck up in the '30's during Kapitza's spell at Cambridge, where he did much of his basic study. Dr. Wooster had asked what Kapitza would like Anna to bring by way of a present, and a wire had come from Moscow: WANT BROKEN CUCKOO CLOCKS—KAPITZA.

The Woosters had forgotten that taking apart complicated old clocks and making them work again was Kapitza's favorite hobby; he has every kind of complicated clock except cuckoos, unobtainable in darkest Russia. Dr. Wooster had put a want-ad for broken cuckoo clocks in the local Cambridge paper; the result was in the carton.

P.S. The large round object wrapped in the Helsinki passenger's sweater was in fact, or appeared to be, a 5-lb. pineapple—she showed it to me. You can never trust these Finns.

—Cedric Belfrage